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"And There the Pagans Reign": Epideictic, Shared Appreciation, Social History

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Abstract

John W. O'Malley, S.J. highlighted the "pagan" origins of the texts recovered from classical antiquity by Renaissance humanists. Although these ancient writers had no relationship to either the Jewish or Christian religions of the Book, their writings were nevertheless valued for offering wisdom and moral insights. Thanks to the epideictic rhetorical genre, shared appreciation across boundaries was emphasized. However, O'Malley also avoided rigidity or literalism in applying principles of the past to contemporary circumstances. Ancient documents are one kind of source; the "social history" in actual practice and application of those documents is another kind of source. This essay surveys some moments in the social history of Jesuit higher education in the post-1814 (post-Restoration) context: an ongoing process of adapting to (or accommodating) challenges posed by the 19th- and 20th-c. USA contexts. A concluding glance at unusual sources used in two recent encyclicals of the Jesuit Pope Francis suggests broader horizons for future shared appreciations.

Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.

-Attributed to Terence
(c. 195/185 – c. 159? BCE)

Esset umano.

-Federico da Montefeltro (1422 – 1482)

Pax et concordia summa nostrae religionis.

Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!

-Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 – 1536)¹

Among the many thousands of pages published by John O'Malley over nearly six decades, those to which I return most frequently first appeared in *America* magazine in 2005: "Jesuit History: A New Hot Topic."² Thanks to the brevity and concision necessary in a journalistic essay written for a popular audience, this piece lays out with exceptional clarity O'Malley's central claims about Jesuit distinctiveness in outlook and education. In particular, three lines seem worth highlighting:

"They knew their Cicero better than they knew their Bible."

"Even if you do not agree with me about the congruity, you might at least find it is interesting that in describing an important aspect of Jesuit spirituality [the virtue of

magnanimity], Ignatius had recourse not to the Bible but to Cicero."

"But the classroom was as always the center of the school, *and there the pagans reigned.*"³

Certainly, in his overview of the revolutionary impact on the Society's identity made by Jesuits teaching ancient texts in their classrooms, O'Malley discusses central Renaissance Humanist aims: antiquity providing ideal models for upright living; "a strong civic orientation, especially notable in Cicero"; and *eloquentia perfecta* for the common good.⁴ But what seems most significant to me—and not often noted—is his underscoring that the authors from antiquity were mostly "pagans," i.e., non-Christian and non-Jewish, having no relationship to the Abrahamic religions of the Book, and thus to what would have been considered "revealed religion." Nevertheless, Jesuits taught these authors—Demosthenes, Sophocles, Livy, Virgil, and their beloved Cicero—"not simply as models of eloquence but as thinkers with ethical and spiritual relevance."⁵ Undeniably, "all this was done under a religious aegis, but with *religion integrated into culture and not standing apart from it.*"⁶

How did these early Jesuits square the circle intellectually, religious and secular? In *The First Jesuits* (1993), O'Malley invokes the legacy of St. Thomas Aquinas at the end of his chapter on "The Schools":

A basic premise of the humanist tradition in the Renaissance was that religious and moral inspiration could be found even in pagan authors. The Jesuits subscribed to that premise, which generically correlated with the tendency in Thomistic theology to find as much harmony as possible between "nature and grace," also a theme of the Jesuit *Constitutions*. Although the Jesuits were not uncritical in their engagement with secular culture, they tended in general to be welcoming of it.⁷

In terms of the classic spectrum of categories set out by H. Richard Niebuhr in *Christ and Culture* (1951), the Jesuits would be located somewhere between "Christ Above Culture" and leaning into "Christ of Culture."⁸ This tendency toward the latter would fuel bitter episodes, stretching from the 17th- and 18th-centuries Chinese rites controversy and Jansenist conflicts all the way into the 20th-century ecclesiastical censures of Modernists and *nouveaux théologiens*.⁹

The "welcoming" of secular culture was also owed to the Renaissance recovery of ancient epideictic rhetoric, i.e., praising the shared good wherever it is found. The epideictic genre of mutual appreciation was central to O'Malley's work throughout most of his career. In 1979, he explored its employment in early-modern sermons in his landmark publication, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*.¹⁰ Twenty-five years later, the epideictic reappeared as the key element of "style" that O'Malley used to distinguish "what happened" at Vatican II and its discontinuities with previous ecclesiastical rhetoric.¹¹ As the art of shared appreciation, the epideictic genre fosters reconciliation.¹²

Put in terms of O'Malley's *Four Cultures of the West*, the first Jesuits might best be seen as embodying not so much the "academic" culture of (medieval) Scholasticism so much as the "humanistic" culture of the Renaissance.¹³ They were "learned clerics" and "worldly priests," hybridized mixtures of

Christ and culture.¹⁴ This rhetorical strategy of cultural "accommodation" stretched far beyond the classrooms of Europe into the missions across the globe for which Jesuits would become both renowned and reviled.¹⁵ Jesuit accommodation presupposed the epideictic stance, an impulse to praise the good wherever it might be found—including among the "pagan" cultures of various epochs.

Historically speaking, these various elements have all lead to a focus on location—namely, borderlands and frontiers.¹⁶ In 1974, Pope (now Saint) Paul VI addressed the Jesuits at General Congregation 32 in these words:

Wherever in the Church, even in the most difficult and extreme fields, in the crossroads of ideologies, in the front line of social conflict, there has been and there is confrontation between the deepest desires of humanity and the perennial message of the Gospel, there also have been, and there are, Jesuits.

Thirty years later, Pope Benedict XVI echoed his predecessor while framing his message for the postmodern epoch:

Nowadays the new peoples who do not know the Lord or know him badly [...] are far away not so much from the geographical point of view as from the cultural one. The obstacles challenging the evangelizers are not so much the seas or the long distances as the frontiers that, due to a mistaken or superficial vision of God and of humanity, are raised between faith and human knowledge, faith and modern science, faith and the fight for justice.

Yet another five years later, the Jesuit pope Francis also invoked the frontier image while insisting on the two-way conversational nature of the borderland exchange:

Your proper place is at the frontier. This is the place of Jesuits. [...] Please be pioneers empowered by God (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6). But do not give in to the temptation of domesticating these frontiers: it is

essential to go out to the frontiers but not to bring frontiers home to touch them up with a little varnish and tame them.¹⁷

Key concepts: accommodation, borderlands, epideictic, hybrids, and the reign of pagans.

But as O'Malley always insisted in his own classroom teaching, the ultimate important question is: "So what?"¹⁸ And so we too can ask: what might be some concrete implications of these key concepts for Jesuit higher education in our own time? Being a historian by trade, I would like to answer that question about the present by excavating past examples. Although their number is legion, for the sake of brevity I will suggest just three: the "social history" of the *Ratio*; appreciation shared with pagans; borderland conversation as conversion.

1. Social history of the *Ratio Studiorum*—letter and spirit

Ever since its first codification in 1599 (on the very eve of the rationalist 1600s), the *Ratio Studiorum* has come to symbolize and be identified with the defining heart of Jesuit education.¹⁹ Reading the *Ratio* in a literalist way as a foundational source comes naturally. However, as O'Malley took pains to note, while documents are one kind of "source" material, another kind of source is activity: "the social history of the order. It is the story of what the Jesuits *did* rather than what they articulated in their formal documents."²⁰

Three exemplary moments illustrate some of the social history of the *Ratio* in modern times.

Moment #1: The Commercial (or Mercantile) Course

Necessity is the mother of invention, and in the 1830s American Jesuits' felt compelled to invent the "commercial" course of studies as an alternative to the time-honored "classical" course transported from Europe. Gerald McKevitt writes:

Since the American schools could not have been open had they confined instruction to Latin and Greek, they

embraced a popular English alternative, the commercial or mercantile course.... Market pressure obliged the Jesuits to prepare young men for a "commercial state of life," and it gave them a purchase on the present in a way classics alone never could. Responding to "the solicitation of many parents and citizens," nearly all the schools created commercial departments as soon as they took wing, although Jesuits in Cincinnati must have been disappointed when two-thirds of their admissions chose the business curriculum over the classical.²¹

The commercial as modern paganism—hardly a novel trope. This early 19th-century adaptation to the realities of "market pressure" seems especially worth contemplating in our present anxious age of the STEM v. Humanities competition.

Moment #2: Professional Schools

Dana Freiburger has shown that the invention of medical schools at American Jesuit universities faced similar headwinds as commercial tracks.²² At Saint Louis University, Jesuit desires to establish a medical school and grow a university with graduate schools needed to grapple with provisions in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus written by St. Ignatius Loyola himself: "The study of medicine and laws, being more remote from our Institute, will not be treated in the universities of the Society, or at least the Society will not undertake this teaching through its own members."²³ In an admittedly "jesuitical" manner, the seeming conflict was resolved by making distinctions—i.e., by establishing a medical school that was governed independently from the rest of the university.

This creative firewall between Jesuits and the medical school led to unexpected and even paradoxical consequences. When anti-Catholic Know-Nothings cast doubt on the medical faculty's academic freedom and integrity, Dr. Moses Lewis Linton answered the critics in a public address. "I here assert what everyone knows, or might know—that no one has any power over the Medical Department of the St. Louis University, but its Faculty and Board of Trustees, and that *this Faculty and Board are composed*

almost entirely of Protestants." Linton then added, referring to himself (a convert): "There is but one Catholic in the Faculty, and he was not known to be such when he was invited to St. Louis."²⁴ A similar arrangement was made at Georgetown University where the Jesuit presidents, "like their St. Louis University counterparts, left teaching matters and the medical department's financial management to the physicians who taught at the institution."²⁵

However, another half-century later, when Creighton University established its medical college and hospital in 1892, the seeming conflict of a medical school in a Jesuit university had disappeared: "the tight integration of the Jesuit medical school in partnership with the Catholic Sisters hospital would contribute to Creighton's efficiency and future achievements."²⁶ Over the past century, Creighton has become widely renowned for its medical programs that have played vital community roles in providing health care for a regional population stretching across several states.

Moment #3: Lingering Literalism

Regardless of such success stories, the conviction that professional schools (and other non-humanistic studies) were not authentically "Jesuit" education lasted well into the 20th century. In a 1930 essay entitled "The Character of Loyola University," composed for and published in the "Dedication Exercises" booklet produced for Loyola Chicago's splendid art deco library, an anonymous author made this stunning claim: "Loyola University to illustrate again, has a total enrollment of some 6,000 students, *of whom less than 1,000 are getting a distinctive Jesuit training.*"²⁷ In other words, students in the professional schools (5/6th of the student body) were not receiving "a distinctive Jesuit training" (i.e., derived from the *Ratio Studiorum* classical track tradition). This judgment was 60 years after Loyola's opening in 1871 (as St. Ignatius College) with a commercial track from the beginning.²⁸

These are but three snapshots from the social history of the *Ratio* in the post-1814 restored Society of Jesus: the commercial course, the medical school, and professional schools more generally.²⁹ It might be said that these innovations

appeared to be "pagan" influences in their day, menacing sources of corruption or pollution. And yet, as the long lived history of American Jesuit higher education shows on close reading, it has been an adventure of constant accommodation and adaptation.³⁰ If the letter of the *Ratio* has been observed more in the exception than the rule (as in 1930 Chicago), perhaps it can nevertheless be said that the spirit still reigned. The reign of the pagans.³¹

2. Appreciation Shared with Pagans

A second implication of O'Malley's focus on the rhetorical principle is the invitation to pay more than lip service to modern pagans. Over a number of years of teaching I have had students read the epideictic exhortation (as underscored by O'Malley) in the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra aetate*, 1965).

Likewise, other religions found everywhere try to counter the restlessness of the human heart, each in its own manner, by proposing "ways," comprising teachings, rules of life, and sacred rites. The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions. She *regards with sincere reverence those ways of conduct and of life, those precepts and teachings* which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all people . . .

The Church, therefore, exhorts her children, that through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, they *recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these people.*³²

Almost exactly 50 years later, in the *Relatio post disceptationem* (October 13, 2014) of the Third Extraordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops, this passage from *Nostra aetate* was explicitly retrieved in the context of 21st-century

challenges—cohabitation, civil marriages, remarried persons, and homosexuality.³³

However, after closely reading this passage with the students, I pose this question: why limit this recognition of the good to other *religions*? Why not extend it the non-religious—to “pagans,” if you will—and give them credit for their creative inventions of values now taken for granted?³⁴ Would the Church ever have arrived at religious tolerance without John Locke or Voltaire? At its social justice teaching without Karl Marx? At its post-World War II embrace of democracy without preceding conflicts with liberal nationalism—including Pope (Saint) Pius X’s excommunication of all the French Catholic deputies who voted for the 1905 Act of Separation of Church and State?³⁵

Two personal experiences in higher education settings come to mind. The first was around 1983-84 when I was a graduate student at Saint Louis University. Members of the Philosophy department had gathered to discuss Pope (now Saint) John Paul II’s encyclical on human labor, *Laborem exercens* (1981).³⁶ The discussion was led by faculty member Fr. John Kavanaugh, S.J., who had joined the department a decade earlier after successfully defending his dissertation entitled “Whole and Part in Hegel, Marx, and Marcuse.”³⁷ Kavanaugh had also just recently published his book *Following Christ in a Consumer Society*, which became enormously popular and went through successive editions.³⁸ In the course of conversation, one faculty participant criticized the encyclical for being “Marx without footnotes” and not giving credit where credit was due. Kavanaugh, thoroughly acquainted with Marx, did his best to defend the pope by noting that encyclicals traditionally limited references to sources like scripture, patristics, ancient theologians (especially Aquinas), and the magisterium (e.g., councils and previous pontiffs). Not surprisingly, Kavanaugh’s valiant attempt was unsuccessful. And on reflection, it did seem somewhat churlish (even to a Jesuit graduate student) for the pope to have written so much that was clearly indebted to Marx and other social theorists without even the slightest acknowledgment.

A second experience has been in my own courses when I ask students to compare two documents.

The first is an Instruction issued in 1866 by the Holy Office of the Inquisition (today’s CDF) in reply to questions from a Vicar Apostolic of the Galle tribe in Ethiopia. The document reads in part: “. . . slavery itself, considered as such in its essential nature, is not at all contrary to the natural and divine law, and there can be several just titles of slavery and these are referred to by approved theologians and commentators of the sacred canons.”³⁹

The second document is President Abraham Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address delivered on March 4, 1865, during the final days of the American Civil War and just one month before he was assassinated.⁴⁰ “Yet, if God wills that [the Civil War] continue,” Lincoln declared, “until all the wealth piled by the bond-man’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said ‘the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether [quoting Psalm 19:9].’” I then note for the students that, despite his religious imagery, Lincoln was at most agnostic and more likely atheist. On the other hand, the first document from the Holy Office is a product of the Church’s magisterium (teaching authority). Moreover, it was issued just one year *after* the end of America’s horrific Civil War and Lincoln’s inaugural followed soon by assassination—Rome’s deductive reasoning seemingly unaffected by the evidence of experience, no matter how traumatic.⁴¹ If Lincoln plays the “pagan” role here in contrast to the religious authorities, which of these two documents would we judge today as the more ethically accurate? Although the response needs very little reflection, the juxtaposition provokes anxious thought.⁴²

O’Malley’s highlighting the reign of the pagans in Jesuit classrooms invites us to consider present-day implications and applications. Once we move beyond thinking of the *Ratio* as being a rigid proscription for reading Greek and Latin texts, and instead remember the ancient authors’ locations—external to “revealed religion”—we are freer to consider what this hybrid position of the early Jesuits means for today’s accommodations of the pagan.

3. Borderland Conversation as Conversion

Returning to O'Malley: "all this was done under a religious aegis, but with *religion integrated into culture and not standing apart from it*."⁴³ Borderland conversations that do not end in at least some degree of conversion are not genuinely dialogical.⁴⁴ Rather, one party maintains its distance from the other, is not changed by the encounter, and—at most—"baptizes" the other. However, as noted above, Pope Francis warns against such domestication of the other: "it is essential to go out to the frontiers but not to bring frontiers home to touch them up with a little varnish and tame them."⁴⁵ In light of this, it is worth perusing some of Francis' endnotes in two of his encyclicals (2015 and 2020) and considering how different the situation of *Laborem exercens* from just forty years ago.⁴⁶

Endnotes found in Francis's encyclical *Laudato si'* (On Care for Our Common Home, 2015⁴⁷) include:

— [15] A book by Orthodox Christian theologian John Chrysavgis (b. 1958) on the ecological vision of The Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomew I, 270th archbishop of Constantinople (b. 1940), whom Chrysavgis serves as advisor.⁴⁸

— [45] Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321), *The Divine Comedy, Paradiso*.

— [53] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881-1955), French Jesuit priest, scientist, and paleontologist who was the subject of a posthumous "monitum" (warning) issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office (today's CDF) on June 30, 1962. It was reiterated in 1981 and has not yet been waived or revised.⁴⁹

— [59] Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005), French Protestant philosopher known for phenomenology and hermeneutics.⁵⁰

— [117] "Some authors have emphasized the values frequently found, for example, in the villas, chabolas or favelas of Latin America." Cites Juan Carlos Scannone (1931-2019), Italian Argentine Jesuit

theologian who was arguably the most influential of the young Jorge Bergoglio's professors in Argentina.

— [148] "[The Earth Charter](#)" (2000), "a document with sixteen principles, organized under four pillars, that seek to turn conscience into action. It seeks to inspire in all people a new sense of global interdependence and shared responsibility for the well-being of the whole human family, the greater community of life, and future generations. It is a vision of hope and a call to action, a document with sixteen principles powering a global movement."

— [159] Ali al-Khawwas, 9th-century Muslim Sufi poet and mystic; quoted from an anthology of Sufism translated and edited by French Islamicist Eva de Vitray-Meyerovitch (1909-1999), herself in turn a disciple of the Sufi master Hamza al Qadiri al Boutchichi (1922-2017).

Endnotes found in Francis's encyclical *Fratelli tutti* (On Fraternity and Social Friendship, 2020⁵¹) include:

— [33] Virgil (70-19 BCE), *Aeneid*, quoted in Latin.

— [34] Cicero (106-43 BCE), *De Oratore* (*On the Orator*), quoted in Latin.

— [49] The 2018 film *Pope Francis: A Man of His Word* by Wim Wenders (b. 1945).

— [55] The *Talmud Bavli* (*Babylonian Talmud*), a collection of the teachings and opinions of thousands of rabbis from before the Common Era through the 5th century CE. Compiled in late antiquity (3rd to 6th centuries CE) and forms the basis for all codes of Jewish law.

— [63] Gabriel Marcel (1889-1973), French philosopher and phenomenologist, Catholic convert, frequently invoked as a "Christian existentialist."⁵²

— [67] Karl Rahner (1904-1984), German Jesuit theologian whose Transcendental Thomism was heavily influenced by the phenomenologist and existentialist Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) whose lectures Rahner attended as a student. For a while under Roman pre-censorship, he later became a *peritus* at the Second Vatican Council.⁵³

— [80] Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005), French Protestant philosopher cited above.

— [130] Georg Simmel (1858-1918), German sociologist and Neo-Kantian philosopher who influenced Marxist scholar Georg Lukacs (1885-1971).


— [139] Paul Ricoeur, cited above.

— [267] Aristotle (384-322 BCE), *Politics*.

— [286] "In these pages of reflection on universal fraternity, I felt inspired particularly by Saint Francis of Assisi [c.

1181-1226], but also by others of our brothers and sisters *who are not Catholics*: Martin Luther King [1929-1968], Desmond Tutu [1931-2021], Mahatma Gandhi [1869-1948] and many more." Emphasis added.⁵⁴

Speaking personally, I wish that this note had included by name Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962), chair of the post-1945 United Nations Human Rights Commission. Roosevelt was the principal force in getting the 1948 "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" both created and accepted.⁵⁵

These are but three examples from the past (out of numerous possibilities) that might open our imaginations to possible implications of key concepts for Jesuit higher education in our own time: the "social history" of the *Ratio*; appreciation shared with pagans; borderland conversation as conversion. Although particulars varied with the contingencies of times and places, John O'Malley's provocative principle traces the one in the many: there the pagans reigned. 

Notes

1. My thanks to John M. McManamon, S.J. for these humanist epigraphs, both ancient and early modern. For John W. O'Malley's editorial activities associated with the Collected Works of Erasmus (University of Toronto Press), see volumes 66 (1988), 70 (1998), and 69 (with Louis Perraud, 1999), <https://utorontopress.com/search-results/?series=collected-works-of-erasmus>

2. John W. O'Malley, "Jesuit History: A New Hot Topic," *America* 192, no. 16 (May 9, 2005): 8-11.

3. O'Malley, "Jesuit History," 11, emphasis added.

4. John W. O'Malley, "Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits," *Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990): 471-487; O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education" and "How Humanistic is the Jesuit Tradition?: From the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* to Now," in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 56-74 and 189-201; O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools and the Humanities Yesterday and Today," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 47, no. 1 (Spring 2015). For reprints of "Renaissance

Humanism and the Religious Culture" and "How the First Jesuits Became Involved," see O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History*, Jesuit Studies: Modernity through the Prism of Jesuit History I (Boston: Brill, 2013), 181-198 and 199-215.

5. Compare John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Five Missions of the Jesuit Charism: Content and Method," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 38, no. 4 (Winter 2006), 25: "A very large number of Jesuits spent their lives teaching pagan texts like Cicero and Virgil. They taught those texts not simply as models of style but as sources of ethical inspiration. As the *Ratio* puts it, mastery of eloquence is to be developed 'in daily readings from Cicero, especially those that contain teaching about how to live uprightly.' If Erasmus could invoke 'St. Socrates,' I think some Jesuits were ready to invoke 'St. Cicero.' I do not know any who did, but Cornelius a Lapide, the Jesuit exegete, said of a passage from Epictetus, 'O wonder, these words ring of the Gospel, not just moral philosophy.' I think it can be safely assumed that, for better or worse, many Jesuits knew their Cicero better than they knew the Bible."

6. O'Malley, "Jesuit History," 11, emphasis added.

7. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 200-242, at 242. For the continuing yet ambivalent legacy of Thomas Aquinas in the late 16th century *Ratio Studiorum* and role played by Francisco Suárez, see Stephen Schloesser, S.J., review of Lukáš Novák, ed. *Suárez's Metaphysics in Its Historical and Systematic Context* (2014) and Victor M. Salas and Robert L. Fastiggi, eds. *A Companion to Francisco Suárez* (2015) in "Book Reviews," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3 (2016): 85-93.

8. H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

9. John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 64-75; Markus Friedrich, *The Jesuits: A History*, trans. John Noël Dillon (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022): for Chinese rites, see pp. 443, 559-463, 584; for Jansenists (including Blaise Pascal), see 182, 583-584, 587, 592. See also Stephen Schloesser, S.J., "Jesuit Hybrids, Catholic Modernities, Future Pasts," in *For the City & the World: Conversations in Catholic Studies and Social Thought: Joan and Ralph Lane Center for Catholic Studies and Social Thought Lectures 2005-2010* (San Francisco, CA: Association of Jesuit University Presses, 2010), 114-141; Stephen R. Schloesser, S.J., "Accommodation as a Rhetorical Principle: Twenty Years after John O'Malley's *The First Jesuits* (1993)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1, no. 3 (2014): 347-372; Stephen R. Schloesser, S.J., "Against Forgetting: Memory, History, Vatican II," *Theological Studies* 67 (2006): 275-319; reprint in David G. Schultenover, ed., *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 92-152.

10. John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979). Note the event commemorating the 40th anniversary of this publication (delayed because of Covid) being held at the KNIR (Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome = Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome) from October 28 to November 5, 2022: "Reasoning to Believe: Epideictic Rhetoric and the Medieval and the Early Modern Sermon." The program announcement reads in part: "2019 brought the 40th anniversary of the publication of John O'Malley's brilliant study *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome*, that put epideictic rhetoric practised in early modern sermons centre stage for the first time. O'Malley's seminal work did more than merely alert students to the extraordinary impact of rhetoric on curial practice and theory: it paved the way for a new assessment of the role of sermons in early modern literature on the one hand, and the impact of rhetoric on Renaissance theology on the other",

<https://www.knir.it/en/course/seminar-reasoning-to-believe/>

11. John W. O'Malley, "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?" *Theological Studies* 67, no. 1 (March 2006): 3-33; reprint in Schultenover, ed., *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?*, 52-91; O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008).

12. O'Malley, "Did Anything Happen?," 26. "The epideictic genre is a form of the art of persuasion and thus of reconciliation. While it raises appreciation, it creates or fosters among those it addresses a realization that they all share (or should share) the same ideals and need to work together to achieve them. This genre reminds people of what they have in common rather than what might divide them, and the reminder motivates them to cooperate in enterprises for the common good, to work for a common cause."

13. John W. O'Malley, *Four Cultures of the West* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004). For this literature review, see Stephen Schloesser, S.J., review of John W. O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?* (cited above), in *Theological Studies* 76, no. 1 (March 2015): 173-175.

14. Schloesser, "Jesuit Hybrids, Catholic Modernities, Future Pasts."

15. Schloesser, "Accommodation as a Rhetorical Principle."

16. Frédéric Dorel, "From Religions to Lifeways: Jesuits and Native Americans, 1965-2015," in *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814-2014*, eds. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 650-692, at 685-686; for bibliography, see note 99.

17. Dorel, "From Religions to Lifeways," 685-686, notes 100-102.

18. Emanuele Colombo, "'So What?': A Conversation with John W. O'Malley," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 1 (2020): 117-133.

19. Jesuits, *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, tr. and ed. Claude Pavur, S.J. (St. Louis, MO: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005).

20. O'Malley, "Five Missions of the Jesuit Charism," 23. "At this point, therefore, we must abandon the *Formula*. . . This is a stunning instance of how limited and misleading official and normative documentation can be for understanding a social reality. If we look solely

to the *Formula*, we get no guidance for the role the Society had in fact assumed as 'the first teaching order in the Catholic Church,' and we would do only slightly better with the *Constitutions*."

21. Gerald L. McKevitt, "Transatlantic Reinvention, 1773-1848: An Old World Accommodates the New," in *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814-2014*, eds. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 51-98, at 80, 82. For parallel developments in schools established by the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (BVM), see Rima Lunin Schultz, "Public School 'Secularists' vs. Women Religious: Competing Visions for Educating Immigrant Catholics in Jane Addams's Progressive Era Chicago, 1890-1925," in *Crossings and Dwellings*, eds. Roberts and Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 338-379. Schultz writes on page 356: "The third philosophical point was that the B.V.M.s rejected the domestic science and industrial or domestic education advocated by public school reformers as the most relevant training for immigrant and working-class girls. B.V.M. schools had instead pioneered commercial programs for boys and girls in the 1890s, which prepared graduates for careers in white-collar business occupations, an expanding area of employment at the turn of the twentieth century."

22. Dana A. Freiburger, "'To Any Degree': Jesuit Medical Schools in the Nineteenth-Century United States," in *Crossings and Dwellings*, eds. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 220-255.

23. St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions* citation and explication in Freiburger, note 1, pp. 220-221.

24. Freiburger, "To Any Degree," 231-233, emphasis added.

25. Freiburger, "To Any Degree," 237.

26. Freiburger, "To Any Degree," 241.

27. Anonymous, "The Character of Loyola University," *The Elizabeth M. Cudahy Memorial Library Dedication Exercises* (Chicago: Loyola University, June 8, 1930), 25-32, at 29, emphasis added, https://luc.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_a8f559d-a034-497b-ab1d-48af57fe92e5/. "But within the past thirty years a change has taken place in Jesuit schools. Modern impatience to achieve wealth, a narrow and shortsighted impatience, has brought increased demand for the second type of school, the vocational school. The Jesuits have been influenced by that demand, and have developed almost every sort of

professional school. Loyola University, for instance, has five such schools: of medicine, law, dentistry, commerce and finance, and sociology. One result of this new development has been to create in some minds a certain amount of *confusion regarding the fundamental character and the primary aim of Jesuit education*. The confusion may be added to by the fact that, in most Jesuit universities in our country, the professional schools far outstrip the basic college of liberal arts and sciences in number of students" (29, emphasis added).

28. McKevitt, "Transatlantic Reinvention," 80-81, Figures 1.5 and 1.6.

29. For the extraordinary challenge posed by professional schools from the late 1920s onward, see William P. Leahy, *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1991).

30. Leahy, *Adapting to America*. For more examples of immigrant European Jesuits adapting to American democratic culture and educational trends, see McKevitt, "Transatlantic Reinvention," 73-82; and Frédéric Dorel, "A Romantic Invented Tradition: Restoring the Seventeenth-Century Paraguayan Reductions in the Nineteenth-Century Rocky Mountains," in *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814-2014*, eds. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 99-139, esp. 111-118. For a first-hand account, see Giovanni Grassi, *Georgetown's Second Founder: Fr. Giovanni Grassi's News on the Present Condition of the Republic of the United States of North America*, trans. Roberto Severino (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2021).

31. The most radical adaptation to the American context was the Jesuits' abandonment of their traditional six-year "college" model imported from Europe and adoption of the U.S. system, i.e., four-year high schools and four-year higher education institutions. For details of these often painful disaffiliations, see Michael T. Rizzi, *Jesuit Colleges and Universities in the United States: A History* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2022), 314-319.

32. Second Vatican Council, *Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, Nostra Aetate* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 28 October 1965), ¶2, emphasis added, language altered for inclusion, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html. See also Dorel, "From Religions to Lifeways," 650, 654-655; and Paul G. Crowley, "Jesuit

Ecumenism in Three Acts: Lessons from the Life of Robert McAfee Brown," in *Crossings and Dwellings: Restored Jesuits, Women Religious, American Experience, 1814-2014*, eds. Kyle B. Roberts and Stephen R. Schloesser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 693-724, at 716, 719n52.

33. Stephen Schloesser, S.J., "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*: Historical Preconditions of a Paradigm Shift in the Reform of Vatican II," in *50 Years On: Probing the Riches of Vatican II*, ed. David G. Schultenover, S.J. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), xi-l, at xlix-l.

Regrettably as of this writing, the official English translation is no longer available on the Vatican website. The Italian reads: ¶19. Nella medesima prospettiva, che potremmo dire inclusiva, il Concilio dischiude anche l'orizzonte in cui si apprezzano gli elementi positivi presenti nelle altre religioni (cf. *Nostra Aetate*, 2) e culture, nonostante i loro limiti e le loro insufficienze (cf. *Redemptoris Missio*, 55)." [From the same perspective, which we could say is inclusive, the Council also opens up the horizon in which the positive elements present in other religions are appreciated as well as of cultures, despite their limitations and shortcomings.] See Péter Erdő, Card., *Relatio post disceptationem' del Relatore generale*, Synod14—11a Congregazione generale, Vatican website, October 13, 2014, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2014/10/13/0751/03037.pdf>.

For the text's second reference, see John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio* (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 7 December 1990), ¶55, also citing *Nostra Aetate*, ¶2: "[God] does not fail to make himself present in many ways, not only to individuals but also to entire peoples through their spiritual riches, of which their religions are the main and essential expression, even when they contain 'gaps, insufficiencies and errors'." https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_07121990_redemptoris-missio.html.

All documents for the 2014 "III Extraordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops" are found at https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/index.htm.

34. For precedent, see Henri de Lubac, S.J., *The Drama of Atheist Humanism*, trans. Edith M. Riley, Anne Englund Nash, and Mark Sebanc (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1998). (The French first edition was published in 1944.) Compare Alasdair C. MacIntyre and Paul Ricoeur, *The Religious Significance of Atheism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); and Merold Westphal, *Suspicion and Faith: The Religious Uses of*

Modern Atheism (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1993).

35. Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar France, 1919-1933* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 53-54. See also Schloesser, "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*,"; and Schloesser, "Against Forgetting." For the example of Sigmund Freud, see Paula M. Kane, "Confessional and Couch: E. Boyd Barrett, Priest-Psychoanalyst," in *Crossings and Dwellings*, eds. Roberts and Schloesser, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 409-453.

36. John Paul II, *Laborem Exercens* (On Human Work on the ninetieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*), Encyclical Letter (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, September 14, 1981), https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091981_laborem-exercens.html

37. John Francis Kavanaugh, "Whole and Part in Hegel, Marx, and Marcuse" (PhD diss., Washington University, Saint Louis, 1973).

38. John Francis Kavanaugh, *Following Christ in a Consumer Society: The Spirituality of Cultural Resistance* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981.) First revised edition 1996; second revised and 25th anniversary edition 2006. The book has also been published in Hungarian, Italian, and Korean.

39. Holy Office of the Inquisition, quoted in John Francis Maxwell, *Slavery and the Catholic Church. The History of Catholic Teaching Concerning the Moral Legitimacy of the Institution of Slavery* (Chichester: Barry Rose Publishers in association with the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, 1975), 78. See also John T. Noonan, Jr., "Development in Moral Doctrine," *Theological Studies* 54, no. 4 (December 1993): 662-677, at 666; and Noonan, *A Church That Can and Cannot Change: The Development of Catholic Moral Teaching* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 17-123, at 114-115.

40. Abraham Lincoln, "Second Inaugural Address," Transcript of speech delivered at National Capitol, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1865, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/lincoln2nd.html>

41. Kelly L. Schmidt, "A National Legacy of Enslavement: An Overview of the Work of the Slavery, History, Memory, and Reconciliation Project," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8 (2021): 81-107, at 92. Compare the relatively unchanged attitudes and actions of the Missouri slaveholding Jesuits following the abolition of

slavery. "When the Jesuits decided to make contracts for the hired labor of four remaining families who had become free with Missouri's abolition of slavery in January 1865, Peter and Margaret were among them, but did not receive pay until April 1867, effectively held in a state of debt peonage. In 1866, Peter had requested that the Jesuits grant him a ten-acre plot of their land in Florissant for his own use, but the Jesuits denied it to him, deeming that it was inefficient."

42. The contrast is, however, not without scriptural parallels in which it is the seemingly distant—the outsider or stranger or foreigner (*allogenes*)—who is actually closest. See Matthew 5:8-13 (faith of the centurion); Luke 10:25-37 (parable of the good Samaritan); Luke 17:11-19 (out of ten healed lepers only the Samaritan gives thanks). For contemporary parallels, see Barbara Brown Taylor, *Holy Envy: Finding God in the Faith of Others* (New York: HarperCollins, 2019).

43. O'Malley, "Jesuit History," 11, emphasis added.

44. Stephen Schloesser, review of *Converts to the Real: Catholicism and the Making of Continental Philosophy* by Edward Baring, *H-France Review*, no. 213 (December 2020), <https://h-france.net/vol20reviews/vol20no213schloesser.pdf>. "At another level, a rhetorical level, authors write precisely 'in order to change their readers' minds—which is to say, to convert them.' The very possibility of change presumes that context is never completely determinative. . . . [Edward] Baring notes that . . . texts 'detach themselves from their context; they can be read and understood in new and interesting ways by people in other times and other places.' Ideas mutate as they migrate."

45. Francis, "Address of Pope Francis to the Community of Writers of *La Civiltà Cattolica*," speech, June 14, 2013, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/june/documents/papa-francesco_20130614_la-civiltà-cattolica.html

46. Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). See Grafton for the importance of citations.

47. Francis, *Laudato si': On Care for Our Common Home*, encyclical letter (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, May 24, 2015), https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html

48. Compare the preface written by Pope Tawadros II, Patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria and of the See of St. Mark; in Pope Francis, *A Better World: Reflections on Peace and Fraternity*, collab. Janvier Yameogo, trans. Damian Bacich (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2022); orig. Papa Francesco, *Pace in terra. La fraternità è possibile*, prefazione Papa Tawadros II, Patriarca della Chiesa Copta Ortodossa di Alessandria d'Egitto (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2021).

49. Robert Nugent, *Silence Speaks: Teilhard de Chardin, Yves Congar, John Courtney Murray, and Thomas Merton* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011).

50. Schloesser, review of Baring, *Converts to the Real*.

51. Francis, *Fratelli tutti: On Fraternity and Social Friendship*, encyclical letter (Vatican City, Italy: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, October 3, 2020), https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20201003_enciclica-fratelli-tutti.html

52. Schloesser, review of Baring, *Converts to the Real*.

53. Nugent, *Silence Speaks*.

54. Matthew Ian Dunch, S.J., "The Use of Mystics in Recent Papal Encyclicals" (M. Div. Thesis, Regis College, University of Toronto, 2016), esp. 46-48. See Dunch for even greater breadth of citations at the second order—e.g., the citation of indigenous mystics by the Australian and Bolivian Bishops conferences.

55. Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001).